

Citizen Participation, Local Governance and Appropriate Policy Framework: A Contemporary and Futuristic View

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The essentially unpredictable future

The future is essentially unpredictable. This in no way should prevent the OAS and the IAF trying to imagine a range of possible futures in order to provide more control over a changing world order and better position Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries within emergent change processes and outcomes. To imagine a variety of possible futures is to have a pre-thought out plan of how to proceed to get the best from the emerging situations. To have a shared vision and teach people in their country and region how to think flexibly is as important as the specific findings derived from the effort.

Easy agreement on a shared vision is not a readily achievable objective. As the states of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) engage the first decade of this new Millennium, a subtle and positive shift is occurring in all segments of society. There is an increased emphasis on the future -- what it might look like, what challenges and opportunities it might present, and in what ways we might be able to respond most positively. It is emerging at a time of national reflection for organizations and individuals alike. Perhaps none too soon -- as changes in our social fabric, resource base, business and political environments, and perhaps most importantly, the pace and extent of changes in science and technology, launch us into exciting but uncertain territory in the 21st century.

In the pursuit of a global approach to trade, investment, production, environment, intellectual property rights, competition policy, a new agricultural regime, etc., coming on to the global, hemispheric, regional, national and local agendas are certain major concerns. These include the necessity for new labor policies related to wage inequality, youth employment opportunities, moving people from welfare to work, life-long learning, school-to-work transitions, and growing inequality of wealth and income within and between countries, the working poor, *inter alia*. There is the growing recognition that policy makers in Europe, the Americas, Asia, Africa and in small island Developing States must develop a new policy paradigm for a more competitive, knowledge-intensive global economy.

There is the awareness that while in the short run profits can be maximized using a cost-cutting strategy, the long run interests of workers, communities and companies are better served by a value-added strategy which empowers workers and requires high skills as well as product and technological innovation. This value-added strategy requires high-performance work organizations with decentralized, participatory decision-making by

highly skilled workers and leading-edge technologies. This decentralizing and power devolving dynamic obliges the same impulse in political and social arrangements in the wider society, as for the economy.

There are many views on the future and only two are presented here -- in an exceedingly truncated form. The first major question is whether capitalism will progress uninterruptedly (notwithstanding rise and fall, again and again) in a cyclical manner or is it now manifesting a terminal systemic decline. Systematic decline is manifested in, for example, a long-term squeeze on profits on three fronts:

- i. **the cost of labour;**
- ii. **the cost of imports and infrastructure; and**
- iii. **the cost of taxation.**

It is argued by some that in most fundamental ways, the contradictions of the capitalist system cannot be contained – **hence terminal secular decline**. Capitalism is **entering a period of “chaos”**. There is revealing itself a **“politics of transition”**. Politically, anything is becoming possible. Each country or trading or economic bloc is trying to grab the opportunity for repositioning and to seek for global hegemony.

A second major view is that **capitalist markets are inexorable** -- they always eventually win. The great material prosperity obtainable during the 21st century will be realized by only those nations that adopt and properly adapt to their own conditions the fundamental economic and political virtues of the “US American Way of Life”. **Twentieth century liberalism -- even if by some other name -- will continue to drive political policies for the foreseeable future**. An ever-increasing government role will inevitably be required as population densities and levels of technological complexity increase. There is the question of whether and when government is a part of problem and whether and when it is the answer. Even when it is a necessary part of the answer, it is always a part of the problem.

Indeed, on this view, all kinds of excuses for dangerous protectionist policies are being created. Europe and the United States squabble interminably over trade restraints, and the wealthy nations of the world continue to unconscionably refuse to open their markets to imports from third world nations. Demagoguery will remain the strongest force in democratic politics -- the public will tend to vote for those who promise them benefits from the public treasury. The "rule of law" will increasingly be replaced by "rule of men" for politically controversial rulings. The courts will become increasingly recognized as just another political organ of government, control over which various interests must struggle. Economic freedom (capitalism), political freedom (multiparty democracy), limited government (checks and balances on government powers, especially property rights and an independent judiciary), and individual liberty (legally enforceable individual rights), will become imperative as the only practical set of arrangements in a world of accelerating technological change.

Each of these major views adds up to fairly similar requirements concerning good governance and its necessity for achieving either liberal or a participatory democracy. The first view (Wallerstein's) imagines a possible world under the democratic control of those who really produce the world's wealth and services. It could be based on a principle of collective self-emancipation through collective self-mobilisation. The combination of forces would be based on class, race, ethnicity, gender, and so on **producing multiple economies but based on the decommodification of the world's economic processes**. This would be based neither on ownership nor even economic control – decommodification would then emerge as a new socio-economic form. So his expectation is for a new 21st Century geo-culture reflecting a “plural left” or shaped by “Civil Society coordinating organisations”.

The second view (futurecast's) is more pessimistic about the extent of this geo-culture fearing increasing demagoguery and increasing corruption of the governmental process, with “big” government becoming the primary social problem in the 21st Century. Instead of a conscious drive to a new participatory democracy, liberalism as economic freedom, multiparty democracy and limited government (the strong maintenance of property rights and an independent judiciary), and individual liberty continues.

Within the Anglophone Caribbean, there is little doubt that the liberal democratic modal form of government, as inherited from the UK will continue. Nevertheless, it existed and continues to exist in truncated and highly unsatisfactory form, as is the case wherever liberal democracy is practiced in the world. However, there are the serious considerations about the appropriateness of this form of political arrangement in the context of the micro-states with weak, dependent and open economies. Small-scale societies have tiny production bases, high costs of procurement of production inputs and for services provision, low export levels accounting for miniscule proportions of world trade, and small scope in general. There exists, also, the significant impact of natural and person-made disasters on small state ecology. These factors combine to place considerable stress on good governance capabilities of these states determined to remain on the liberal democratic path.

The new, retreating, mood in the international donor and aid community is to give less assistance, in more focused way with a requirement for a more decentralized governance and involvement of social partners such as labor, capital, community-based organizations, other non-governmental organization and social philanthropic organizations. Anglophone Caribbean governments, themselves, have been experimenting with various forms of public sector reforms and have been reviewing their local government systems, while engaging with all civil society.

Civil Society and Governance

A defining of the field – civil society

The non-state sector embraces all other actors other than political parties, parliament and its directly supportive institutions including the public bureaucracy. This means that labour and business organisations, Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), professional associations, Philanthropic groups from the Churches to private organizations, and other not-for-profit organisations constitute the non-state sector. Usually, the notion of civil society is used, but only as a heuristic device, to separate business and labour from the non-state sector. One reason is that on occasions, business and labour organisations seem to be in their own special relationship with the state as ‘social’ partners. Technically, local government, as dependent state-created institutions, should be lumped with the state but many have preferred to so local government, re-vitalised and restructured as one of the pillars in a new system of governance incorporating civil society and central government.

Imperatives of community governance

The absence of a national consensus around a shared vision of a renewed society based on nationalism, sovereignty, independence and self-sufficiency points to a high potential degree of ungovernability in Anglophone Caribbean societies. There has been the rapid growth of non-governmental organisations and increasing demand for revitalized local government institutions because of a number of developments. In a number of situations the existing and traditional structures of authority, methods and instruments have failed or have eroded. There have emerged new fields of socio-political activities. These require new organisational forms and evoke new patterns of interest-mediation. Many of these have yet to be strongly established. Nevertheless, in several of these areas, the new modalities have actually emerged, such as the success of a co-management process in environmental matters and, indeed, strong new organizations have manifested themselves.

A number of issues which are of great concern to the public and private actors are now in the public domain, generating a general public awareness and a demand to be heard. This is evident in the case of Barbados where public interest was high on the issue of the location of a new sanitary landfill. Other issues include the introduction of Casino gambling, reform of public education, poverty eradication, the legalization of drugs now deemed illegal, and many more such issues. In Jamaica, only last week, police and military incapability was brutally exposed in a context where 25 five persons lost their lives in the effort of law enforcement agencies to search for guns in a “garrison” constituency. The national debate in the aftermath of that occurrence has been

considerably strident. Breakdown of law and order issues present peculiar and especially difficult challenges for community governance. There is the existence of sufficient convergence of objectives and interests to make it possible to reach a synergistic effect or a "win-win" situation between central government, local government and civil society.

The selection of a style of governance based primarily upon cooperation, trust, and mutual understanding among the pluri-sector social partners now is a preferred option for many. Complexity, diversity and dynamism which characterize the changing situation in the Anglophone Caribbean require multiple partnerships to find workable answers leading to a new and better form of governance. Governments of the anglophone Caribbean are today better prepared to take on this challenge, awesome as it is.

The initial effort should be to identify those productive governmental activities, in need of strengthening, promotion and expansion. If this were done without any imperative interest in conserving what exists at any cost (as Drucker noted), much would need to be changed or abolished. This would be so especially if attention was paid to results rather than good intentions.

Liberalization, privatization, deregulation, decentralization, deconcentration, community participation and democratization (in local, central, and regional government within a country) give a stronger voice to people. Sustainable development, environmental protection and social sector development are concepts incorporated into the notion of good governance. The European principle of "subsidiarity" (sharing the decision load down below) and other systems of decentralization and devolution of state authority and power, are important. Efforts to achieve people and community empowerment through new institutions, form the core of the process of giving voice to citizens at the local level. It is expected that current and future holders of state power will exercise the requisite political will.

Research is revealing that there is a strong indigenous capacity to achieve success in and sustain good governance activities by people and groups in communities. The opportunity presents itself for the state to build a new legitimacy through participation with civil society and hence renew and strengthen itself for the development tasks ahead.

Some Cautions

A representative local government system is in existence in only one of the Eastern Caribbean countries. In Jamaica, Suriname, Guyana and the Bahamas representative local government system exists also but not in Haiti and Belize. This means that a vital organizational structure for giving voice at the local level is inadequately articulated in most CARICOM member states. Without vital features such as having a constitutional or legal status to ensure continuity and insurance against compromise, local government cannot perform the vital function of giving a real voice to villages, towns and cities. To do so, furthermore, would require that all municipal and district councils meet the criteria of full electiveness, have well-defined and satisfactory financial autonomy and provisioning, can be established with status equal to statutory corporations, and are

assigned real functions as community development and empowering agencies. If existing community groupings cannot be built up to enable them to function similarly, then giving voice to people in localities remains an unreal expectation.

It is still the case that people in localities do not have a framework to have direct voice in decision-making nor to be involved in other critical tasks of good governance, such as monitoring and evaluating policies and participate in their implementation. Developments in Dominica and St. Lucia offer the real hope that the features of an appropriate system will be legislated and implemented in the near future, notwithstanding a recent change (2000) in the party government of the Commonwealth of Dominica. Reports on local government reform, sponsored by the Caribbean Development Bank, and requested by these governments, have been completed.

So far, a restricted, and almost pointless notion of governance of localities has been purveyed by Governments. Minimal resources and marginal tasks have been assigned the various administrative local government systems created. No real voice is given to the people. Edwin Jones (1998) in a socio-historical profile had noted that symbolic forms of 'local government' have survived which neither represented popular needs and expectations nor reflected meaningful accountability. There is still much ambivalence on the question of what such systems would deliver. As Jones stated, the culture of ambivalence, resource starvation and a record of under-performance have helped to undermine institutional legitimacy. He further noted that regional local government systems have consistently embraced a limited and limiting vision of reform.

So he correctly concludes that the local government reform process has never seriously contemplated, much less implemented, the ideals of local governance. Emphasizing that it embraces community discourse and action, he argued that it is not about providing services to the public but doing so *for the public and with the public*. For him, only a reliance on an alternate set of concepts and reform tools would be able to convert these structures into genuine community or service organizations.

So far, decentralization, applied as a mechanical transfer of power from central to local government, has not served to enhance local government capacity by changing the consciousness and orientations of local stakeholders. Most of the local government structures of the region lack the internal management capability and reliable systems of control to achieve a performance monitoring and measuring system ensuring accountability. At the local level, accountability requires a sensitive, caring, responsive and responsible bureaucracy. This in turn requires the supporting social foundations of what Jones refers to as the social foundations of civil society and governance.

Apart from the institutional view, Jones has argued that an environment of trust, personal security and fairness of governmental transactions is a necessary support. Additionally, the availability of basic life-sustaining goods, services and opportunities provide a context where citizens can perform their full role as participants. The reinforcing and mutually beneficial relationship between civil society and local government may serve to limit the possibility for arbitrary or abusive state action, while at the same time

augmenting the implementation capacity of the state. Vigorous local government systems need, therefore, a vibrant civil society. The two must be articulated together in order to guarantee success. The purpose is to build **permanent** governance institutions as one method of institutionalizing innovations.

Jones has identified a number of steps in expanding and utilizing existing capacity, namely, to build organizational capacity from the bottom up; keep the management and planning systems and procedures simple; rely on appropriate incentive systems; build a culture of self correction; and concert the action strategies.

Institutional framework for community action and empowerment in the Caribbean

In previous studies of non-state actors, Duncan identified five categories of relationships in order to present the data and develop the argumentation. These allowed for the adducing of special lessons in each category instructive for a new governing relationship, giving voice to people in localities.

The first category identified those quasi-international non-governmental organizations (QUINGOs) which were, typically, engaged in poverty alleviation and reduction. The source of funds used was mainly from international financial institutions such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and the European Development Fund. Of course, the insistence was for governments to give semi-autonomous status to the created organizations where the real controls were from the donor organizations, hence their description as quasi-international organizations.

If the true objective was to deliver welfare more effectively and efficiently than the state, then the IFIs and other donors could claim a fair measure of success. If the objective was to empower or build sustainable institutional capacity, the success was much more qualified, since very few community structures and QUINGOS survived the withdrawal of funds. For a while, the lives of significant proportions of people in localities were touched through the redistributed resources. The creative ways employed and the encouragement of the involvement and, sometimes, the full participation of local groups were certainly salutary. The impact, however, was not sustained. Notwithstanding these outcomes, there were clear pointers to the possibility for creating a truly national framework of community development organizations. ***The issue was not merely the continuation of funding but also of creating the appropriate macro-social and macro-economic environment within a legislated or, preferably, a constitutionally guaranteed political framework.***

It is instructive to appreciate that, in the present conjuncture, international agencies have come to acknowledge the same need for a new political state with a new organizational ethos, rather than merely reformed structures or inserted appendages. The reduction in the zeal to minimize the role of the state by international agencies has also produced a search for new ways of giving voice to people in localities. To do this, a re-empowered state, going beyond delivery of welfare, is needed to legitimize and authenticate people and their local organizations and national networks.

These are the unacknowledged lessons which international agencies would have learnt from their “*internationalization of welfare*” period. Indeed, a stronger expression would call it a form of *administrative recolonisation* – that is to say, little more than rigid and excessive bureaucratic control, under the guise of reaching past governments to non-state organizations.

Another consequential finding was that elaborate rules and procedures do, demonstrably, get in the way of establishing mechanisms and systems benefiting people in localities, especially in rural areas. Studies of a sizeable number of “success stories” [Duncan] have shown that both quasi-non-governmental organizations (QUANGOs) and regular non-governmental organizations have increasingly been playing a critical role in development in all social sectors in the Eastern Caribbean states. On many occasions, they rose to the occasion and delivered excellent service. Governments and donor agencies came to acknowledge that because such organizations shied away from traditional ways of doing things, crippling administrative procedures and accounting systems, the direct “beneficiaries” attained far more value than if the projects were undertaken directly by the state. Communities and their groups also learned the value of collective productive activity on their own behalf.

A fourth category for community institutionalization and empowerment is the network organizations of national and regional NGOs. These in turn created an overarching network of networks to undertake advocacy at national, regional and international levels, and to undertake capacity and institutional building activities. Organizations such as the Association of Development Agencies (ADA), Caribbean Peoples’ Development Agency (CARIPEDA), the Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI) and the Windward Islands Farmers’ Association (WINFA) have demonstrated their value. They, in turn, along with specialist and broad-based organizations or networks, are members of the umbrella regional organization, the Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC) which covers the entire language groupings in the Caribbean. This enables participation and intervention at the level of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) and the Association of Caribbean States (ACS) but also internationally, including the World Bank’s NGO grouping and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

There are innumerable examples of NGOs and community-based organizations depending for their existence on the availability of international funding to sustain their empowering and poverty reducing efforts. Success stories abound, nevertheless. NGOs cover the wide gamut of human needs in Caribbean states. National governments have established registers on NGOs. They have invited NGO participation on national commissions. They have taken along NGOs representatives in government team of delegates to regional and international conferences, and they have contracted with certain NGOs for services delivery in communities and to certain target populations. CARICOM, itself, and CARIFORUM, have invited NGO participation in their preparatory workshops leading to the defining of negotiating positions for the governments of CARICOM. In October/November 2001, there will be a Regional Civil

Society Forum sponsored by the region's governments and organized by the Secretariat of the Caribbean Community.

Non-state actors have been engaged in activities to relieve and eradicate poverty, to provide needs to local communities, seeking to improve education and offer pre-school facilities, and to participate in effective health service delivery. These are all activities which would benefit from a more structured approach incorporating the "beneficiaries" and their organizations, as well as branches of de-centralized ministries and local government.

Local Government Renewal and Non-State Sectors in a New Governance System

There has been the appearance of numerous NGOs in the Anglophone Caribbean. Nevertheless, they do not, and must not be allowed to, supersede the role and function of local government, especially of a new local governance. More importantly, this does not mean that the state relinquishes the overall responsibility for social welfare and development. What is needed is not a decomposition of the state authority and power but its co-integration with local government and community organizations. The power and authority of the state must, necessarily, however, be diffused to new centres of action closer to 'beneficiaries'. The meaningful participation, at all stages, of people in localities is necessary.

The state remains central because none of these organizations (local government, NGOs/non-state actors) can, at any time, even with the most extensive and intensive capacity-building, be the agency through which the contradictions of planned change and induced development be primarily or ultimately addressed. It is in their interrelationship and shared, though not necessarily equal, responsibility, within the framework of a new system of governance, that a new synergy will be released producing better economic, environmental and social development as well as better government. This is what will give true and sustaining voice to people in localities.

Going beyond the competition model, it will be seen that state, local government and non-state organizations must of necessity collaborate for best results. The inadequacies and inappropriateness of the one are oftentimes delicately offset by the strengths of the others.

NGOs may be seen, as Annis [1987] noted, as small scale, politically independent, low cost, and innovative -- as positive attributes. These features, however, do not give them a sustainable capacity to address pervasive poverty and dispossession. They are unable to offer a sustained and integrated assault, lacking institutional and financial connectedness to central government, and lacking a general base rooted in representative elections. NGOs, however, have a direct legitimate basis, especially the grassroots organizations, through their activities. Their experiences, shared with national and local decision-makers, provide invaluable lessons vital for conceiving development interventions. International donor agencies are rapidly learning this.

The same points can be made in relation to NGO/government relations and the two with local government and other non-state actors. Central government lends itself to macro studies, NGOs to micro studies and local government lends itself to neither in particular. The essential truth is that local government's location between community and nation leaves it well-placed to bring civil society and Central Government together in urgently productive relationships. It has to be ensured that well-planned decentralizing, devolving and democratizing exercises are designed with the full participation of these three groups. In addition, the inclusion of labour and business organizations is desirable. Sufficient resources are needed to enable local government and NGOs/Community-based organizations to meet local needs for poverty reduction and economic and social development. **An equitable, budget-based way would be to assign specific proportions of national revenue for rural, non-city, non-large-town development.**

The exercise of political will in favour of the maximum degree of participation at all appropriate levels is crucial. In the prevailing culture, Central Government's leadership in initiating and legitimizing the dialogue is necessary in order to achieve real results. The ethos embraces all the canons of good governance. Governments, local governments, NGOs, business and trade unions must be clear on the strategy and mission they are trying to achieve and to which they are committed. National consensus has to be sought through the initiating and organizational action of governments, though the actual process must not be state-directed.

Commentary

No Caribbean government, as yet, has accepted the critical assumptions of an holistic strategy that it can undertake as policy to restructure societal power relationships and that centralized bureaucracies can learn to share power with community groups. There have been many discussions, and in Trinidad, there has been some legislative action in relation to decentralization. In Jamaica, also, there has been concerted effort to seriously re-structure its local government system but legislative/constitutional authorization and implementation has been excruciatingly slow.

What is needed is a development policy for crisis regions in countries to go well beyond the provision of emergency aid or 'niche economy'. A new economic system for the future constitutes the third sector of the economy. This third sector distinguishes itself as much as from the traditional market economy as from the state-directed economy. This sector would be designed to achieve what traditional concepts of economic policy have not achieved since they merely 'refurbish' individual parts at the cost of the whole. A change of perspective is required, and this must involve the five elements: *a new economic dimension, social investment, employment versus unemployment, adjacent markets, and sustainable development.* These points made by Birkholzer are indeed relevant to the Caribbean situation, and would explain why a significant role in giving voice to people in localities is assigned to a revitalized and refashioned local government system, with a strongly enhanced civil society component.

As Birkholzer has stated, paradoxically, crisis regions reveal no lack of work, despite the prevalent high unemployment figures. Consequently the objective of labour market policies must be to finance the necessary work, instead of financing unemployment. Long-term joblessness has been provided for neither in the principle of unemployment insurance, nor in the traditional tools of job creation policies. **Long-term unemployment is, on the contrary, an inadequacy of the economic system itself, not of the individual affected.**

None of this is truly possible without non-state actors working with the state and local government. The key to the achievement of a third economic sector is obviously a renewed and vitalized local government as a vital pillar in a new structure of community governance. *By its elected representativeness, its legal and constitutional status, its status as a corporate entity, its connection with Central government through accountable and transparent financial arrangements, and its explicit performance of the role of a developmentalist organization, Local Government becomes the primary official institution at the level of localities and communities which is invested with the authority and power to act in the collective interests of those residing within the delimited region.*

It is therefore vital, in the extreme, that radical and urgent reform of the local government system be undertaken within the framework of a new system of governance, with the equally urgent responsibility of strengthening other civil society institutions within a legislated national framework of participation. Much has to change, and immediately if we are to successfully face the globalization and regionalization challenges confronting the Anglophone Caribbean.

There is acceptance of the ideology of good governance, yet there is little action on its practices. This would require the perception of bureaucracies in the Caribbean having complex decentralized matrix structures with permanent mechanisms for vertical and lateral integration. This would require a mix of generalist and specialist skills which go far beyond the present capabilities in order to achieve community development.

There are emerging a variety of **ad hoc** coordinating mechanisms but they have not been extensive enough and the need is also for permanent coordinating mechanisms at all levels intended to facilitate joint problem-solving. The communications channels, between central government and local government and community groupings have been dominated by a top-down flow. The requirement is for a continuous formal and informal two-way vertical and horizontal communication through multiple channels. The locus of initiative and control must involve all the stakeholders in various co-arrangements. Similarly, planning and implementation are to be regarded as continuous and interactive.

The requirements for the holistic approach as manifested in changed attitudes of central governments are a long way off from achievement in the Caribbean. However, it is also a development for which Caribbean local government and Caribbean non-state organizations have been increasing their capacity for policy interventions at the policy levels, nationally, regionally and internationally. Central governments are, increasingly,

under pressure from a changed global political economy and the little revolts of civil society, committing themselves to reformed governance, participation of communities and democratization. Continued pressure from all quarters is expected to produce more positive results in the near future.

For a new system of governance to work, people must be ready for interdependent action. This means they must become proactive in defining what this may mean and how they will participate in it. All the institutions in society must reflect a new governance structure -- the public sector, trade unions, businesses, churches, the judicial system, schools, local government, community-based organisations.

The political party, especially, must reflect, in the way it goes about its business, all the features that it will naturally adopt should it be given the chance to be the government. In these ways, a new synergy will be released which will produce inventiveness, increased productivity, greater happiness of the greatest number, and many new and fully legitimate leaders.

Conclusion

The international trend, under the new liberalism is for “small” government and a governance system appropriate for promoting this notion. Taking a futuristic view, two possibilities seemed interesting. One was that the world would continue to be dominated by capitalist markets and its systems requirements. Under this view, liberalism as a political framework of multipartism, constitutional rule and limited government would continue with interests competing for state favour. The second possibility was of a world in which capitalism would be in a secular decline providing opportunities for a new coalition of forces (women’s groups, environmentalists, generation-based groups, etc.) acquiring organizational form to challenge successfully liberalism and establish a new plural politics.

Under whichever view of the future, it has become evident that old ways of governing in the Anglophone Caribbean have come under further serious challenge at this time and in the context of major global challenges. Maybe, also, their very small size, bringing with it peculiar problems and vulnerabilities, make it even more futile not to attempt to deepen democracy to more participatory forms. A radically restructured relationship between Central government, a new local government and Civil Society seems necessary. The achievement of this was shown to be problematic yet achievable and would be supported by a “third economics” related to crisis regions/localities.

Neville C. Duncan, July 14, 2001

N.B. Most of these points, about civil society and governance are to be found in a more expanded format and with greater details in: **Voice, Participation and Governance in a Changing Environment: The Case of the Eastern Caribbean**, CGCED, June 2000.

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